

Buddhist Literature of Lān Nā on the History of Lān Nā's Buddhism¹

General Aspects of Lān Nā's Historical Literature

Lān Nā's numerous and fact-filled historical works consist of secular and religious writings, are written in Mon, Pāli or Thai Yuan languages with Mon, Thai (Fak Khām) or Tham letters, and can be short descriptions of one particular event or longer accounts through the ages.

Mon dominated the region from about A.D. 750 to 1300 when the Thai rose to power. The oldest surviving documents are Mon inscriptions on stone with dates shortly after 1200; a few undated inscriptions may be somewhat older.² The oldest Thai inscription with a date is from 1371 (Wat Phra Yün, Lamphün)³ though here again some undated inscriptions may be older.⁴ The oldest Thai palmleaf manuscript with a date is part of a Jātaka book in Pāli from 1471.⁵ Inscriptions are the only true primary sources. Of other texts, which usually were written on palmleaf, we do not have the originals, only

¹ This article is a revised and enlarged version of the paper *Literature on the History of Local Buddhism*, presented at the 1st Conference on Buddhist Literature of Lān Nā, "A Survey of Present Knowledge and Suggestions for Future Activities", held at Wat Suan Dòk, Chiang Mai, 15-16 November 1994.

² Texts and translations for instance in: Halliday 1930 Inscriptions môn.

³ Text and translation for instance in: Griswold / Prasöt 1974 Inscr. Wat Phra Yün.

⁴ See for instance: Penth 1988-89 Inscriptions and Images; Penth 1992 Thai Literacy.

⁵ v.Hinüber 1993 Pāli und Lāna: 223.

copies of copies. Thus, there are no original manuscripts of any of the chronicles. Climate and insects necessitated copying to preserve a text.

Lān Nā's authors wrote solely on their own history or, at the most, on the old history of Buddhism in India and Ceylon. The accent of their writings is mostly on one locality in Lān Nā or on one single item such as an image; other regions are mentioned mainly to show that a local item or feature was derived from there, or was moved to there. Lān Nā's authors did not write the history of other peoples, nor did they note down the customs of other peoples, whether these populations were living outside their area or within Lān Nā itself. Thus, for instance, there is no work on the history of the local Lawa, no description of them as a different people, and no old Lawa word list; there is no history, for instance, of China, of a neighbouring Burmese kingdom, nor of Sukhōthai, Ayuthayā. There is also no comprehensive history of Lān Nā. There are, it is true, some chronicles that deal with many places in and outside Lān Nā; but that is not because of wide historical interest on the part of the authors but because their subject, for instance the history of the Wat Suan Dòk monks and their school (MS), or the history of the Wat Pā Däng school (JKM), or the history of Chiang Mai (CMA), necessitated dealing with other places. Nonetheless, in particular the last two chronicles are more broad-minded in outlook than others and could be read as Lān Nā histories with a strong accent on Chiang Mai. One can therefore state that Lān Nā's historical works are basically locality-centered or item-centered. In that, Lān Nā was not alone, most other regions in Southeast Asia had a similar self-centered way of writing only their own history; but it is clearly different from, for instance, old China or old Rome, where the history, languages and customs of other peoples received much attention.

If the authors of old have not left us an account of the Lawa who lived among them, neither have they left us an account of the life of the ordinary Mon or Thai person. The texts mostly enumerate events, political, military and religious, nearly always in neat chronological order. Causal connections are sometimes explained, are often obvious, occasionally not. Treating important events, the texts deal mostly with higher-ranking individuals, leaders of government, military, and clergy.

With the authors' interest limited to events in their own country, *mīang*, their own region, or their own monastery or school, their outlook was limited geographically. Their outlook was also limited intellectually in the sense that they did not compare; certainly they did not critically compare and evaluate in writing, though one imagines occasional lively discussions among learned monks. But in their writings, authors did not, for instance, compare their own people's history with the history of other populations in order to look for similarities or generalities, did not compare obviously similar accounts of several different famous Buddha statues as a starting point for an investigation into these similarities, did not compare conflicting evidence on one and the same subject for a study into the reason behind the difference. Since there was no comparing, there was no weighing or reasoned choosing between contradictory sources. It seems that there also was a complete absence of historical speculation or historical philosophy, for instance as to the meaning of history, or to its usefulness for present everyday life or for future generations. And they probably never abstracted, summarized a chain of related events. One can therefore further characterize Lān Nā's historical works as mostly plain, enumerative and descriptive, and her historians as mainly recorders and compilers.

However, that limited, enumerative event-descriptiveness is the very strongpoint of Lān Nā's historical literature. Authors did not

choose between two diverging sources but stated them both; they had the highest respect for the written word and did not lightly change, add to, or 'correct' what they found noted by their forefathers, an attitude at present still prevalent among the senior generation. Therefore, in spite of errors and sometimes accidental 'jumps' while copying which resulted in lacunae in the copied text, today's historian can with a good deal of confidence work with the material that has been handed down - if something appears unintelligible, there is a fair probability that he (or she) does not understand the matter properly, and not that the text is corrupt.

With regard to its historical qualities, Lān Nā's literature can roughly be divided into two categories: factual history and fictional or mythical, legendary history. This paper is meant to treat literature dealing with factual history. However, Lān Nā's factual history literature sometimes is not without legendary or mythical elements.

Buddhist Literature of Lān Nā on the History of Lān Nā's Buddhism

A major part of Lān Nā's historical literature was created by past local Mon and Thai authors who wrote on, or noted contemporary events of, the factual history of their religion in Lān Nā. These texts can be classed as Lān Nā's Buddhist literature dealing with the factual history of Lān Nā's Buddhism and can be divided into 6 groups:

1. General religion chronicles
2. Chronicles of Buddha images
3. Chronicles of religious sites
4. Inscriptions
5. Colophons
6. Other

The lists below are meant to be suggestions or examples only; they are neither complete nor perfect in all details. Some dates are tentative. Items with Pāli text are marked by an asterisk *.

1. General Religion Chronicles

- ± 1425 Buddhāñña begins *Mūlasāsanā* (MS).
- 1516-17 * Ratanapañña writes the first part of *Jinakālamālī* (JKM). The second or last part ends with the year 1527.

2. Chronicles of Buddha Images

Ratanapañña in his JKM quite often mentions Buddha images and usually remarks on their history. Of some of the images, he reproduces their entire history. These accounts are among the earliest known versions of image chronicles.

Some images are not mentioned in JKM (for example: Phra Silā, Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai); possible explanations are: the images then were not yet in Chiang Mai; they were mentioned in sections lost from JKM;⁶ their chronicles were written after 1527.

The image Phra Kāo Khāo (Phra Setangka Manī, Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai) has a chronicle in Thai but not in Pāli.

Phra Kāo Mōrakot has at least one chronicle version in Laotian / Yuan, and three in Pāli.

⁶ All known JKM manuscripts have a total gap between 1455 and 1476. Also, they do not report on JKM's principal monastery, Wat Pā Dāng near Chiang Mai, between 1453 and 1516.

The Sāvattḥī Sandalwood Image (Phra Kān Jan) originally seems to have had a chronicle in Thai which Ratanapañña was the first to translate into Pāli for his JKM under the name *Varacandanasāranidāna*.

±1410 * Bodhiramsi composes (or translates from Thai) the chronicle of Phra Sing, *Siṅga(buddharūpa)nidāna* (SIN).

? An unknown author writes in Yuan dialect the chronicle of Phra Kān Jan (KJ), i.e. of the Sāvattḥī Sandalwood Image.

±1500 * Brahmarājapañña writes a history of Phra Kāo Mòrakot (Emerald Buddha), *Ratanabimbavaṃsa* (KM-B).

The following 4 chronicles are in Ratanapañña's JKM.

1516-17 * History of Phra Sing, *Sīhaḷapaṭimā* (SIN-JKM).

1516-17 * History of Phra Kāo Mòrakot, *Ratanapaṭimā* (KM-JKM).

1516-17 * History of Phra Sikhī, *Sikhībuddha* (SIK-JKM).

1517-27 * History of Phra Kān Jan (Sāvattḥī Sandalwood Image), *Candanapaṭimā*, *Candanabimba* (KJ-JKM).

±1575 * Ariyavaṃsa (was he a Yuan ?) writes a history of Phra Kāo Mòrakot (Emerald Buddha), *Amarakaṭabuddharūpanidāna* (KM-A).

±1575 * Ariyavaṃsa (same as of KM-A) writes a history of Phra Bāng, *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna* (PB). Written in Wiang Jan ?

1785 * Phra Mahā Phōtha Langkā orders to write the history of Phra Silā (SIL).

? An unknown author writes the history of the Buddha image Phra Setangka Manī (Setaṃgamaṇi, Phra Kāo Khāo) (SET).

3. Chronicles of Religious Sites

These chronicles, of which there are plenty, often consist of a common myth: the Buddha comes and makes predictions, leaves a hair, leaves a footprint, etc. The myth frequently explains the name of the future religious site. Sometimes the myth is followed by genuine historical material which describes events that indeed took place. One could call these histories *myth-chronicles*. Their date of composition is mostly unknown. They probably did not have a definite author and a definite year of composition because they presumably developed orally during a long time and later were written up. Here are some examples:

1565 Composition of the chronicle of Wat Phra Thāt Hariphunchai (HAR).

1606 (or later) The HAR appendix is written.

1631-1812 Composition of the chronicle of Phra Thāt Dòl Tung (DT); but see also: inscription 1.4.3.2 Chiang Sān 1605.

Chronicles of religious sites can contain episodes which are more or less similar to stories contained in *Phra jao liap lōk* "The Lord (circum-)tours the World", also known as *Tamnān phra bāt phra thāt* "History (or: The Origins) of the Holy Footprints and Relics", collections of legendary travels of the Buddha through Lān Nā and environment among the four Thai peoples, Siamese, Yuan, Khün and Lü.⁷

⁷ There are numerous versions of greatly varying length and contents. A general edition would be most welcome. For a tentative classification of the various versions see: Penth (ed.) 1993 History of Phra Thāt Dòl Tung: 64. It seems that so far only a few isolated mss have been studied and occasionally been distributed in polycopied form ("semi-published"); for

4. Inscriptions

Inscriptions mostly deal with one specific event that took place at a certain time, for instance the erection of a building at a monastery or the founding of a Buddha statue.

While chronicles easily belong to the category 'literature', it is often difficult to decide whether a certain inscription is 'literature'. In a broad sense, all inscriptions, whether on stones, on Buddha images, on bells, etc., can be called 'literature' concerning the history of local Buddhism. This is particularly true for longer inscriptions which sometimes are well-phrased and parts of which are written in verse or rhyme. However, very short inscriptions can hardly be regarded as being genuine 'literature'. It will be up to the individual reader to decide where to draw the line. Here are a few examples.

- 1219 * Inscr. 1.3.1.1 Wat Dòn 1219; stone; Pāli and Mon languages.
- 1411 Inscr. 1.5.1.1 Phra Suwanna Mahā Wihān 1411; stone; *kham ham* verse.
- 1470 * Inscr. 1.2.3.2 Wat Phra Jao Meng Rāi 1470; on a bronze 'Phra Sing' Buddha image.⁸
- 1477 * Inscr. 1.5.3.2 Wat Phayā Ruang 1477; on a bronze Buddha image.

instance: Sommāi 1967 Tamnān Müang Fāng. (Incidentally, the title of the ms is a misnomer because the ms is a *Phra jao liap lōk* text and does not deal with Fāng's history.)

⁸ 'Phra Sing' means a certain image but also a type of Buddha image in general. There are several images with inscriptions stating that it is a 'Phra Sing'. This statue is one of them. The 'real' Phra Sing, dealt with in SIN, is claimed to be an image either in Chiang Mai, Bangkok, or Nakhòn Sī Thamma Rāt; none of these three images is inscribed.

- 1605 Inscr. 1.4.3.2 Chiang Săn 1605; on a bronze image of a hermit (*rūsī*, *r̥si*). Contains the earliest known version of the Dòi Tung chronicle.

See below under 'INSCRIPTIONS' for their publication.

5. Colophons

Similar to inscriptions which record, for instance, the founding of an image and are laid down on the pedestal of the image, palmleaf manuscripts (on any subject) may have at the end of the text proper a post-script or colophon that is of general historical interest and that also often bears on the history of local Buddhism because it records details about the writing of the manuscript: author, copyist, sponsor, costs, date, place, circumstances, etc. Some colophons are very short and can hardly be called 'literature'; others are longer, highly informative and also well-written. Colophons are sometimes omitted by copyists, in text editions or translations (and overlooked by their readers).

While instructive colophons are relatively frequent, their opposite, viz. informative prologues, are rare.⁹

See below under 'COLOPHONS' for their publication.

6. Other

There are secular chronicles which have a definite religious accent in that they prominently report on religious activities, for

⁹ For instance: prologue to *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* by Bodhirāṃsi, c.1410. In: Cœdès 1915 *Ouvrages palis*: 44 n.2; CDV.P+Y/T' 1967: 1-2.

instance on construction work at monasteries. They are not 'Buddhist historical literature' in a strict sense but complement other Buddhist writings on the history of local Buddhism. To mention only one example:

± 1410 * Bodhirāṃsi translates from Thai *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* (CDV).

Finally must be mentioned certain secular chronicles and other historical writings which technically lie outside the field of 'Buddhist historical literature' yet are not unrelated: they can contain versions of old pieces of Buddhist historical writings, they deal occasionally with objects, events and persons connected with Buddhist writings on the past, and they therefore contribute to a better understanding of such writings. To mention only two well-known chronicles:

- ±1806 Completion of the 7-fascicle ('bundle') version of the Chronicle of Chiang Mai (CMA).
- ±1827 Completion of the 8-fascicle version of the Chronicle of Chiang Mai (CMA).
- ±1895 Composition of the Chronicle of Nān (NAN).

Texts and their Publications

Note on Abbreviations

In the list below, texts are arranged in alphabetical order while their publications are in chronological order.

The list avoids titles (prince, etc.) but personal rank-titles attached to such ranks as phra, luang, etc., have been retained and authors are listed under these because they usually are better known.¹⁰

The first letters, before the 'decimal point', indicate the name of a text; for instance: KM = the chronicle of Phra Kāo Mōrakot, i.e. the Emerald Buddha image.¹¹

If there are several text versions of the same story, a hyphen indicates the version; for instance: KM-A = history of Phra Kāo Mōrakot according to the thera Ariyavaṃsa.

The letters after the 'decimal point' indicate the modern editor of the text, or the translator, by his initials; for instance: KM-A.CN = Translation of KM-A into French by Camille Notton.

It is sometimes useful or even necessary to indicate the language; for instance: SIN.SM/P and SIN.SM/T, meaning that the

¹⁰ Here are some frequently mentioned names and personal titles:

Chām Bunnāk = Phrayā Prachākit-kōrajak ข่มขุนาค, พระยาประชาภิจักรจักร

Kāo = Phrayā Thammaparōhit แก้ว, พระยาธรรมปโรหิต

Nōi = Phra Wichianprīchā น้อย, พระวิเชียรปรีชา

Phā Tālalaksamon = Luang Prasōt Aksōranit = Phrayā Pariyati-thamthādā แพบตาลักษมน, หลวงประเสริฐอักษรนิติ, พระยาปริยัติธรรมธาดา

Sitthi Lōjanānon = Phrayā Yānawijit สิทธิโลจนานนท์, พระยาญาณวิจิตร

¹¹ If in future more texts are to be scrutinized, classified, etc., using the initials of two or three words in the title or name of a text will no longer be enough to clearly distinguish between different texts. One possible solution could be to follow the system of the Critical Pāli Dictionary and to use the first 5 letters of the name of a text instead; for instance: JKM = Jinak (Jinakālamālī), CDV = Cāmad (Cāmadevīvaṃsa), SIN = Sihiṇ (Sihiṇga(buddharūpa)nidāna). That would work well for Pāli titles; but for the less uniform Yuan titles adaptations will be necessary.

chronicle of the Buddha image Phra Sing (SIN) was edited by Säṅg Monwithūn (SM) in Pāli (P) and also translated by him into Thai (T). Other abbreviations: E = English, F = French.

If the same text was repeatedly published, it can be useful to indicate the year of publication; for instance: KM-A.CN'1933.

Note on Text Editions and Transcriptions

In the case of inscriptions that are written in Mon, Pāli or Thai languages and archaic alphabets, also in the case of palmleaf manuscripts written in Pāli, text editions usually are in the form of a transcription that is an exact transliteration, letter by letter, (called คำจารึก, อักษรแปลง) from the original alphabet into Roman or Thai characters. This gives the modern reader a precise idea of the orthography used in the old text. These transliterations are frequently accompanied by a Modern Thai Reading (called คำอ่านปัจจุบัน) to facilitate understanding; here, modern orthography and explanatory footnotes are used to assist the reader.

But in the case of chronicles written in Yuan dialect and in Tham or Fak Khām letters, text editions practically always are liberal transpositions into modern Thai (called *pariwat* ปรีวรรต), i.e. a form of Modern Thai Reading. Here, modern and original orthography are mixed to produce a quickly readable modern version with old local flavour, the degree of mixture being individually decided by each editor. These transpositions do not permit reconstruction of the original orthography but only of the wording; they come close to translations.

CDV

Cāmadevīvaṃsa. A Pāli version of the history of Old Lamphūn, *History of Nāṅg Jām Thewī* (NJT), translated c.1410 from Thai

(Deyyabhāsā) into Pāli (bhāsā Paṭṭiyañjana akkhara) by the mahāthera Bodhirāṃsi. The text has 15 chapters. The end of chapter 4 and the whole of chapters 5 and 6 are missing in all known manuscripts. Probably at an early date one or more bundles of a certain palmleaf manuscript were lost and all our presently known manuscripts go back to that one defective manuscript. Contents: From the visit and prophecy of the Buddha concerning the city until Ādittarāja (c. 1150).

CDV.PK

Translation of CDV into Thai by Phrayā Prachākit-kòrajak (Chām Bunnāk).

In: Wachirayān, 9, 1898-99.¹²

CDV.WL

Pāli text edition of CDV in modern Thai characters, probably prepared by officials in the Wachirayān National Library from an unspecified manuscript in that Library.

In: Wachirayān Library 1920 Cāmadevīvaṃsa.

CDV.P+Y

Translation of CDV.WL into Thai by Phrayā Pariyati-thamthādā and Phrayā Yānawijit.

In: Wachirayān Library 1920 Cāmadevīvaṃsa.

Fine Arts Dept 1967 Cāmadevīvaṃsa.

CMA

The Chronicle of Chiang Mai. The known 7-fascicle ('bundle') versions end in 1805/06 while the 8-fascicle versions end in 1827. The title

¹² The journal *Wachirayān* was published between 1884-1905 by the Royal Wachirayān Library, predecessor of the Wachirayān National Library, itself predecessor of the present National Library.

usually is *Tamnān Phūn Mūang Chiang Mai* ตำนานพื้นเมืองเชียงใหม่ “Historical Account of the Past of Chiang Mai” but for as yet unknown reasons some manuscripts have the title *Tamnān Sip-hā Rāchawong* ตำนาน 15 ราชวงศ์ “Historical Account of the 15 Reigns”.

CMA.CN

Translation of a 7-fascicle version of CMA into French by Camille Notton.

In: Notton 1930 Annales (3).

CMA.TT

Text edition of an 8-fascicle version of CMA in modern Thai by Thon Tonman.

In: Thon 1971 Chronicle of Chiang Mai.

COLOPHONS

Colophons to *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* (Bodhiramṣi, c.1410)

In: Cœdès 1915 Ouvrages palis: 43 n.2.

CDV.P+Y' 1967: at the end of each chapter.

Colophon to *Sihiṅganidāna* (Bodhiramṣi, c.1410)

In: Cœdès 1915 Ouvrages palis: 43 n.3.

Colophons to commentaries to *aṭṭhakathās* of Buddhaghosa (Ñāṇakitti, c. 1495)

In: Cœdès 1915 Ouvrages palis: 40 n.3; 41 n.1-3.

Colophon to KM (*Brahmarājapañña*, c.1500)

In: Cœdès 1915 Ouvrages palis: 46 n.2.

Colophon to *Vessantaradīpanī* (Sirimaṅgala, 1517)

In: Cœdès 1915 Ouvrages palis: 41 n.4.

Colophon to *Śaṅkhyapakāśaka-ṭīkā* (Sirimaṅgala, 1520)

In: Cœdès 1915 Ouvrages palis: 39 n.2.

Colophon to *Maṅgaladīpanī* (Sirimaṅgala, 1524)

In: Cœdès 1915 Ouvrages palis: 40 n.1.

Colophon to JKM (1527)

In: JKM.WL/P' 1908: 187-188.

JKM.WL/T' 1908: 250-151.

JKM.GC/P in Cœdès 1925 Documents: 4-5 n.1 (not at the end of the JKM text!).

JKM.SM/T' 1958: 152-153.

JKM.J/E' 1968: 185-186.

Various other colophons and related observations are in:

v.Hinüber 1987 Pāli Manuscripts at the Siam Society.

Hundius 1990 Colophons of Thirty Pāli Manuscripts.

v.Hinüber 1990 On some Colophons.

v.Hinüber 1993 Pāli und Lānnā.

DT

The chronicle of the religious site Phra Thāt Dòì Tung, twin stūpas (jedī, cetiya) on a high hill overlooking the Chiang Sān plain, about 50 km north of Chiang Rāi.

DT.HP

Text edition of DT in modern Thai based on the manuscript from Wat Huai Khrai near Dòì Tung and collated with a greater number of other DT manuscripts and one inscription (see also below: Inscriptions).

In: Penth (ed.) 1993 History of Phra Thāt Dòì Tung.

HAR

The chronicle of Phra Thāt Hariphunchai, Lamphūn, written in Yuan characters and dialect. Contents: From the earliest existences of the Buddha to 1565, with an additional episode dated 1606.

HAR.FAD' 1942

In: Fine Arts Dept 1942 Prachum Tamnān (1).

HAR.FAD' 1962

Text edition of HAR in modern Thai, based on the manuscript 'Phāyap letters' อักษรไทยพายัพ no.21 of the National Library, Bangkok.

In: Fine Arts Dept. 1962 Tamnān Phra Thāt Hariphunchai.

HAR.SW

Text edition of HAR in modern Thai by Singkha Wannasai, based on several manuscripts and earlier text editions.

In: Singkha 1973 Tamnān Phra Thāt Hariphunchai.

• Several times reprinted by Wat Phra Thāt Hariphunchai as a part of other publications of the monastery, for instance in 1974 and 1987.

INSCRIPTIONS

1.2.3.2 Wat Phra Jao Meng Rāi 1470

In: Griswold 1957 Dated Buddha Images: no.1.

Penth 1976 Jārūk phra Phuttha rūp: no.2.

1.3.1.1 Wat Dòn 1219

In: Coedès 1915 Documents: 189-192.

Halliday 1930 Inscriptions môn: 87-90 (does not contain the Pāli text).

Jampā et al. c.1990 Wikhrò: 88-101.

1.4.3.2 Dòi Tung 1605

In: Penth et al. 1993 Inscr. 1.4.3.2 Chiang Sān 1605.¹³

1.5.1.1 Phra Suwanna Mahā Wihān 1411

In: Thöm / Prasān 1980 Silā Jārūk Kasat Lò Phò./9.

1.5.3.2 Wat Phayā Ruang 1477

In: Griswold 1963 Yudhiṣṭhira: 226-27.

Sinchai / Jintānā 1974 Aksòn nūa: 107 (only the Pāli text).

Thöm / Bunlöt 1987 Jārūk Yuthisathira.

JKM

The chronicle *Jinakālamālī* (or *Jinakālamālinī*). Written in Pāli, the chronicle traces the history of Buddhism from India and Ceylon to Lān Nā. It deals specifically with a new local school, the Sīhaḷabhikkhus who installed themselves in 1430 in Wat Pā Dāng near Chiang Mai, then records in detail the activities of the Wat Pā Dāng monks first until 1517, and finally for another 10 years until 1527. The author (at least of the first part, up to 1517) was Ratanapañña, writing in Wat Pā Dāng.

There is an explanatory index to the Thailand part of the chronicle with comments on places, objects and events: Penth 1994 JKM Index. Cf. *ibid.* p.335-342 for details of JKM manuscripts and text editions.

¹³ It has since been established that the inscribed object (a bronze statue of a hermit) originally was kept on Dòi Tung, hence the change in name of the inscription in the Archive of Lān Nā Inscriptions.

JKM.WL/P

Pāli text edition of JKM in Thai letters arranged by the Royal Wachirayān Library.

In: Wachirayān Library 1908 *Jinakālamālī* (1). ('Prince Damrong Edition').

JKM.WL/T

Translation of JKM.WL/P into Thai by Phrayā Phojanāphimon and others, made in 1794, omitting certain difficult passages.

In: Wachirayān Library 1908 *Jinakālamālī* (2).

JKM.GC/P

Pāli text edition of JKM (only the Thailand part) in Roman letters by George Cœdès.

In: Cœdès 1925 Documents: 4-5; 36-72.

JKM.GC/F

Translation of JKM.GC/P (only the Thailand part of the chronicle) into French by George Cœdès.

In: Cœdès 1925 Documents: 5; 73-140.

JKM.SM

Translation of JKM into modern Thai by Säng Monwithün.

In: Säng 1958 *Jinakālamālī*; the Thailand part of the chronicle is on p. 81-153.

Säng 1967 *Jinakālamālī*; the Thailand part of the chronicle is on p. 90-171.

JKM.NJ

Translation of JKM into English by N.A. Jayawickrama.

In: Jayawickrama 1968 *The Sheaf of Garlands*; the Thailand part of the chronicle is on p. 96-186.

KJ

History of the Buddha image Phra Jao Kān Jan (Sandalwood Buddha Image). There were two of them: one made in Sāvattthī, and one in Chiang Sān (see JKM). KJ deals with the Sāvattthī image and calls the story *Varacandanasāranidāna*. But no Pāli text of that name seems to exist, the known manuscripts are in Thai Yuan and are usually called Tamnān Phra (Jao) Kān Jan. Ratanapañña presumably translated a Thai version into Pāli for his *Jinakālamālī*.

KJ-JKM

An account in Pāli of KJ in the second part (1517-27) of the chronicle *Jinakālamālī*.

KJ.PY

An account of KJ by Phrayā Prachākit-kōrajak in his *Phongsāwadān Yōnok*, presumably based on several Yuan manuscripts.

In: Prachākit 1907 *Phongsāwadān Yōnok*: 250-252.

KJ-JKM.GC/P

Pāli text edition of KJ-JKM in roman letters by G. Cœdès.

In: Cœdès 1925 Documents: 69-70.

KJ-JKM.GC/F

Translation of the Pāli text of KJ-JKM into French by G. Cœdès.

In: Cœdès 1925 Documents: 135-37.

KJ-JKM.NJ

Translation of KJ-JKM into English by N.A. Jayawickrama.

In: Jayawickrama 1968 *The Sheaf of Garlands*: 178-180.

KJ-JKM.SM

Translation of KJ-JKM into Thai by Säng Monwithūn.

In: Säng 1958 *Jinakālamālī*: 145-147.

Säng 1967 *Jinakālamālī*: 163-166.

KJ.SC

An account of KJ in modern Thai by Sanguan Chōtisukharat.

In: Sanguan 1972 *Prachum Tamnān* (2): 68-88. English abstract in

Penth 1994 *JKM Index*: 324-326.

KM

Chronicle of the Buddha image Phra Kāo Mōrakot (Emerald Buddha). There are 3 Pāli versions by 3 different authors, Ariyavaṃsa (KM-A), Brahmarājapañña (KM-B), and Ratanapañña in his *Jinakālamālī* (KM-JKM). They probably did not copy from each other but rather used common Thai sources which Brahmarājapañña calls “Siamese language” (*syāmbhāsā*) in the colophon and which, in the case of Ariyavaṃsa, presumably in part is taken from a chapter of the Chronicle of Lān Chāng.¹⁴

There are also reports of Laotian versions in Luang Phra Bāng, one of which is well-known in Thailand (KM-LP), and I have heard and read of (but not seen) Yuan manuscripts in north Thailand.

KM-A

History of the Emerald Buddha according to Ariyavaṃsa: *Amarakaṭabuddharūpanidāna*. - Contents: From the creation of the image, initiated in 44 B.C. by the thera Nāgasena of Pāṭaliputta and sculpted by the god Vissukamma, to the death of King Jaya Jetṭha in

¹⁴ See also: Cœdès 1915 *Ouvrages palis*: 46; Lingat 1932 Rev. Notton 1932 *Emerald Buddha*; Lingat 1935 *Le culte*.

1571 when the image is in Wiang Jan. - Date and place of composition are not clear. Two likely dates may be 1643 and 1725; the chronicle perhaps was written at Wiang Jan. The Pāli text may not yet have been published.

KM-A.X

Translation of KM.A into modern Thai by an unnamed (?) person. - Contents: From Nāgasena to 1565 (correct: 1571 ?), when the image is in Wiang Jan, with a jump to 1778-80 when the image is removed to Bangkok.

In: Julalongkòn 1920 *Phra Rācha Karanyānusòn*: 81-105.

Julalongkòn 1964 *Phra Rācha Karanyānusòn*: 107-136.

KM-A.CN

Translation of KM-A from a Pāli - Yuan nissaya into English by Camille Notton. The Yuan text seems to have had enlargements over the Pāli text of the *Amarakaṭabuddharūpanidāna*.

In: Notton 1932 *Emerald Buddha*.

Notton 1933 *Emerald Buddha*.

KM.B

History of the Phra Kāo Mōrakot as told by Brahmarājapañña. The author translates old Thai texts into Pāli and calls his work *Ratanabimbavaṃsa*. - Contents: From the creation of the image by Nāgasena until the image is in Lampāng. - Date and place of composition are indicated in the text but have not yet been identified.

KM-B.TP

Translation of KM-B into modern Thai by Phrayā Thammaparōhit. Finished in 1788, printed in 1937.

In: ... (No details available to me).

KM-B.PA/P

Pāli text edition of KM-B in modern Thai letters probably by Luang Prasöt Aksòranit.

In: Wachirayān Library 1912 Ratanaphimphawong.

KM-B.PA/T

Translation of KM-B into modern Thai by Luang Prasöt Aksòranit.

Probably in: Wachirayān Library 1912 Ratanaphimphawong.

KM-B.SM

Translation of KM.B into modern Thai by Säṅg Monwithūn, occasionally with Pāli passages.

In: Säṅg 1967 Ratanaphimphawong.

KM-JKM

History of the Phra Kāo Mòrakot according to Ratanapañña, 1516-17, in his Jinakālamālī. The story ends in 1481, when the image is installed in the Jedī Luang, Chiang Mai.

KM-JKM.GC/P

Pāli text edition of KM-JKM in roman letters by G. Cœdès.

In: Cœdès 1925 Documents: 53-56.

KM-JKM.GC/F

Translation of KM-JKM into French by G. Cœdès.

In: Cœdès 1925 Documents: 112-115.

KM-JKM.SM

Translation of KM-JKM into Thai by Säṅg Monwithūn.

In: Säṅg 1958 Jinakālamālī: 114-118.

Säṅg 1967 Jinakālamālī: 128-133.

KM-JKM.NJ

Translation of KM-JKM into English by N.A. Jayawickrama.

In: Jayawickrama 1968 The Sheaf of Garlands: 141-145.

KM-LP

Text edition (?) of KM in modern Thai, based on a Laotian version from Luang Phra Bāṅg.

In: Wichianprīchā 1869 Phongsāwadān Nūa: Appendix.

Wichianprīchā 1894 Phongsāwadān Nūa: Appendix (reprint of the 1869 edition).

Prachum Phongsāwadān, 1, 1914, 79-112 (reprint of the 1894 PN and KM texts).

Prachum Phongsāwadān, 1, 1963, 79-112 (reprint by Kāo Nā Publishers).

- The KM printings of 1869 and 1894 have the title *Tamnān Phra Kāo Mòrakot Luang Phra Bāṅg*, but in Prachum Phongsāwadān the title is shortened to *Tamnān Phra Kāo Mòrakot*.

KM.PY

An account of KM by Phrayā Prachākit-kòrajak in his Phongsāwadān Yōnok, presumably based on several Yuan manuscripts.

In: Prachākit 1907 Phongsāwadān Yōnok: 246-248.

KM.SC

An account of KM in modern Thai by Sanguan Chōtisukharat.

In: Sanguan 1972 Prachum Tamnān (2): 1-35.

MS

Mūlasāsanā. A chronicle of Buddhism and related secular events in India, Sri Lanka and Thailand, with emphasis on Lān Nā and the araññavāsī monks of Wat Suan Dòk near Chiang Mai. Contents: From the beginning of Buddhism in India to its advent in central and north

Thailand, on to the founding of Wat Suan Dòk in 1371 and up to about 1510. In a way, MS is a chronicle of Wat Suan Dòk as JKM is a chronicle of Wat Pā Dāng. But MS is much less scholarly and thus probably mirrors a basic difference between the two *araññavāsī* sects. All known versions of MS are written in Tham letters and Yuan dialect and are rather uniform. MS as it is known today is the result of an original version with later additions: it seems that the abbot of Wat Suan Dòk, Buddhāñña, composed the first part in around 1425 and that later the abbot Buddhābukāma (whose identity is not clear)¹⁵ and perhaps others continued it.

MS.S+P

Text edition of MS in modern Thai by Sut Sīsomwong and Phrom Khamālā, based on a manuscript in the Bangkok National Library.

In: Sut/Phrom 1939 *Mūlasāsanā*.

Sut/Phrom 1970 *Mūlasāsanā*.

MS.PN

Text edition of MS in modern Thai by Prasöt na Nakhòn (Prasert na Nagara), based on MS.S+P and collated with other MS manuscripts.

In: Prasöt 1975 *Mūlasāsanā*.

NAN

The Chronicle of Nān.

NAN.RS

Text edition of NAN in modern Thai by Sān Luang Rācha Somphān แสนหลวงราชสมภาร, based on one or several Yuan manuscripts. - The prince of Nān, Suriyaphong Phritadet สุริยพงศ์พริตเดช, ordered it

¹⁵ Griswold / Prasöt 1972 *King Lödaiya*: 53-54; Prasöt 1975 *Mūlasāsanā*: 286 n.1.

compiled in 1894 after his accession. The last date mentioned is 1894. Though there were, and perhaps still exist, older versions written or copied in the years after 1800, it is this version which is generally used today.

In: Rācha Somphān 1919 *Nān History*.

NAN.P+W

An abridged translation of Part 2 and the first two sections of Part 3 of NAN.RS into English by Prasot Churatana, checked and edited by David Wyatt.

In: Prasöt/Wyatt 1966 *Nān Chronicle*.

NAN.W

Translation of NAN into English by David Wyatt.

In: Wyatt 1994 *Nān Chronicle*.

NJT

History of Nāng Jām Thewī. Contents: The Buddha visits the future site of Lamphūn (Hariphunchai) and makes prophecies; followed by a short biography of queen Jām Thewī; followed by a relation of events in Lamphūn up to the last Mon king of the city, Yībā, when the Thai Yuan king, Mang Rāi, conquers the city. Dates are few and unreliable.

Mahāthera Bodhirāṃsi translated the original Thai text (which at least for its earlier part would have been derived from old Mon texts, oral or written) into Pāli in about 1410 under the name of *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* (CDV). Since then, there are 2 lines of text tradition: the old Thai line (History of Nāng Jām Thewī, NJT) and the new Pāli line (*Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, CDV). The CDV has been re-translated into modern Thai; it differs somewhat from the known versions of NJT, perhaps because NJT evolved more during the time than CDV.

NJT.AP

Translation of NJT from a Laotian manuscript in Luang Phra Bāṅg dated A.D.1646 into French by Auguste Pavie and assistants. There is an appendix with a list of Chiang Mai rulers from Mang Rāi to Fā Sawāthi.

In: Pavie 1898 *Etudes diverses* (2): 145 - 166 ('Histoire de Nang Kiam Tévi').

NJT.CN-Ams

Translation of NJT from a Yuan palmleaf manuscript which is not described (here called "manuscript A") into French by Camille Notton.

In: Notton 1930 *Annales* (2): 1-58.

NJT.CN-Bms

Translation of NJT from a Yuan palmleaf manuscript which is not described (here called "manuscript B") into French by Camille Notton. The translation covers only the story of Nāṅ Jām Thewī in a condensed way.

In: Notton 1930 *Annales* (2): 58-60.

SET

History of the Buddha image Phra (Kāo) Setangka Manī (Setaṅgamaṇi; in Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai), or Phra Kāo Khāo. Only in Yuan dialect, no Pāli version is known. - The history of the image is also mentioned in NJT.CN-Ams: 1-3. There is often confusion in texts between Phra Kāo Mōrakot, Phra Kāo Khāo, and Phra Setangka Mani.

SET.PY

Summary of SET by Phrayā Prachākit-kōrajak in his *Phongsāwadān Yōnok*, presumably based on a number of Yuan manuscripts.

In: Prachākit 1907 *Phongsāwadān Yōnok*: 244-245.

SET.EH

Summary of SET by E.W.Hutchinson, based on a transcription from Yuan into Thai made by the monk Phra Mahā Mūn of Wat Hò Tham, Chiang Mai. That transcription was based on Mahā Mūn's palmleaf manuscript which itself had been copied in 1920 at Wat Rampōṅg from another manuscript.

In: Hutchinson 1935 *Sacred Images*.

Hutchinson 1954 *Sacred Images*: 55-58.

SET.CN

Translation of SET from a manuscript in Yuan dialect (and probably in Tham letters) into French by Camille Notton.

In: Notton 1936 *Phra Setangka Manī*.

SIK

History of the Buddha image Phra Sikhī, one of the five Ayuthayā Black Stone Images, made from a black rock on which the Buddha once had rested near Ayuthayā. The image was originally presented to Angkor Thom, then to Pagan, to Lampāṅ (until 1515) from where it was forcefully removed to Ayuthayā.

SIK-JKM

Ratanapañña's version of SIK in the first part (1516-17) of his chronicle *Jinakālamālī*.

SIK-JKM.GC/P

Pāli text edition of SIK-JKM by G. Coedès.

In: Coedès 1925 *Documents*: 60-61.

SIK-JKM.GC/F

Translation of SIK-JKM from Pāli into French by G. Coedès.

In: Coedès 1925 *Documents*: 123-125.

SIK-JKM.SM

Translation of SIK-JKM from Pāli into Thai by Sāṅg Monwithūn.

In: Sāṅg 1958 Jinakālamālī: 125-128.

Sāṅg 1967 Jinakālamālī: 141-144.

SIK-JKM.NJ

Translation of SIK-JKM from Pāli into English by N.A. Jayawickrama.

In: Jayawickrama 1968 The Sheaf of Garlands: 155-158.

SIL

History of the Buddha Image Phra Silā at Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai, perhaps written in 1785 at Pā Sāṅg at the request of Phra Mahā Phōtha Langkā; there seem to be Pāli and Yuan versions. - Contents: King Ajātaśatru of Magadha (today: Bihār, north India) orders to make the image. It is later removed to Langkā, Burma, Sawankalōk, Lampāṅg, Chiang Mai. - The shape of the letters of the inscription around the head of the image (Ye dhammā ...) and the style of the image suggest that it was made soon after 900 in Bihār.¹⁶

SIL.EH

A (shortened ?) translation of SIL from Yuan into English by E.W.Hutchinson, based on a Yuan version made by the monk Phra Mahā Mūn of Wat Hò Tham, Chiang Mai. Phra Mahā Mūn had translated the Yuan version himself from a Pāli version and had put both side by side in his own manuscript.

In: Hutchinson 1935 Sacred Images.

Hutchinson 1954 Sacred Images: 59-62, 70-73.

¹⁶ Lohuizen 1961 Stone Buddha.

SIL.X

An account of SIL in modern Thai by an unnamed person, published by Wat Chiang Man in 1956.

In: Wat Chiang Man 1956 Tamnān Phra Silā.

SIL.SC

An account of SIL in modern Thai by Sanguan Chōtisukharat.

In: Sanguan 1972 Prachum Tamnān (2): 54-67.

SIN

History of the Buddha image Phra Sing (Phra Sihing, Phra Phuttha Sihing). Composed in Pāli or translated from Thai into Pāli c.1410 by the mahāthera Bodhiramsi under the title *Sihinga(buddharūpa)nidāna*. The history of the image is also told by Ratanapañña in the first part (1516-17) of his chronicle Jinakālamālī (SIN-JKM). - This history has repeatedly been printed in various forms; below are listed only some examples. More are listed in Sāṅg 1963 Tamnān Phra Sing: 80.

SIN.PA/P

SIN.PA/T

Pāli text edition together with a translation of SIN into modern Thai by Luang Prasöt Aksòranit. Published under Prince Damrong in 1913 for a private printing made by the Royal Historical Research Society (Porāṇagatisamosara)¹⁷ or the Wachirayān Library (Hò Phra Samut)¹⁸.

In: Wachirayān Library 1913 Tamnān Phra Sing.

Wachirayān Library 1918 Tamnān Phra Sing.

SIN.CN

Translation of SIN.PA/T into English by Camille Notton.

In: Notton 1933 Phra Sing.

¹⁷ Cœdès 1915 Ouvrages palis: 43, n.3.

¹⁸ Thanit Yūphō in: Sāṅg 1963 Nithān Phra Sing: Preface.

SIN.SM/P

Pāli text edition of SIN in modern Thai characters by Säṅg Monwithūn.

In: Säṅg 1963 Nithān Phra Sing.

SIN.SM/T

Translation of SIN.SM/P into Thai by Säṅg Monwithūn.

In: Säṅg 1963 Nithān Phra Sing.

SIN.SC

An account of SIN in modern Thai by Sanguan Chōtisukharat.

In: Sanguan 1972 Prachum Tamnān (2): 36-52.

SIN-JKM

Ratanapañña's version of SIN in his chronicle Jinakālamālī.

SIN-JKM.GC/P

Pāli text edition of SIN-JKM by G. Coëdès.

In: Coëdès 1925 Documents: 46-48.

SIN-JKM.GC/F

Translation of SIN-JKM from Pāli into French by G. Coëdès.

In: Coëdès 1925 Documents: 97-102.

SIN-JKM.SM

Translation of SIN-JKM from Pāli into Thai by Säṅg Monwithūn.

In: Säṅg 1958 Jinakālamālī: 100-105.

Reprinted in 1967: p.112-118

SIN-JKM.NJ

Translation of SIN-JKM from Pāli into English by N.A. Jayawickrama.

In: Jayawickrama 1968 The Sheaf of Garlands: 120-126.

Chiang Mai

Hans Penth

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Fine Arts Dept 1967 *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*

กรมศิลปากร “คำแปล จามเทววงศ์ พงศาวดารเมืองหริภุญชัย” เชียงใหม่ 2510.

• Partial reprint of Wachirayān Library 1920 *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*. Does not contain the Pāli text, only the Preface by Prince Damrong and the Thai translation CDV.P+Y/T.

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A.B. Griswold: *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam*. Ascona 1957.

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• Reprint of Hutchinson 1935 Images.

Jampā et al. c.1990 Wikhrò

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Julalongkòn 1964 Phra Rācha Karanyānusòṇ

พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว “พระราชกรณียานุสร” กรุงเทพฯ สำนักพิมพ์คลังวิทยา 2463 • Second printing of Julalongkòn 1920 Phra Rācha Karanyānusòṇ.

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Rācha Somphān 1919 Nān History

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Rācha Somphān 1964 Nān History

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สุด ศรีสมวงศ์ / พรหม ขมาลา "ตำนานมูลศาสนา" กรุงเทพฯ กรมศิลปากร 2482.

¹⁹ For this misnamed ms, which actually contains another text, see above footnote 3.

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สุด ศรีสมวงศ์ / พรหม ขมาลา "ตำนานมูลศาสนา" กรุงเทพฯ / เชียงใหม่ กรมศิลปากร 2513.

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เทิ้ม มีเต็ม / ประสาร บุญประคอง "ศิลาจารึกกษัตริย์ราชวงศ์มังราย ลพ./9" ศิลปากร, 24.2, 2523, 85-88.

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เทิ้ม มีเต็ม / บุญเลิศ เสนานนท์ "จารึกฐานพระพุทธรูปพระเจ้ายุธิษฐิระ" ศิลปากร, 31.4, 2530, 80-82.

Thon 1971 Chronicle of Chiang Mai

ทน ดนมัน (ปริวรรต) "ตำนานพื้นเมืองเชียงใหม่" กรุงเทพฯ สำนักนายกรัฐมนตรี 2514.

Wachirayān Library 1908 Jinakālamālī

1. (หอพระสมุดวชิรญาณฯ) "หนังสือชินกาลมาลีนี้ พระยาพจนานิมล แปล" กรุงเทพฯ ร.ศ.127

2. (หอพระสมุดวชิรญาณฯ) "หนังสือชินกาลมาลีนี้ ภาษามคธ" กรุงเทพฯ ร.ศ.127

• The book consists of 2 separate volumes. One volume contains a preface by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and a JKM translation by Phrayā Phojanāphimon and others made in 1794 (JKM.WL/T); the other contains a JKM text edition in Pāli, the "Prince Damrong edition" (JKM.WL/P).

Wachirayān Library 1912 Ratanaphimphawong

(?) หอพระสมุดวชิรญาณฯ "หนังสือรัตนพิมพวงษ์" กรุงเทพฯ ร.ศ.131.

Wachirayān Library 1913 Tamnān Phra Sing
(Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince; ed.) “ตำนานพระพุทธลีหิง” กรุงเทพฯ
(2456).²⁰

Wachirayān Library 1918 Tamnān Phra Sing
(Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince; ed.) “ตำนานพระพุทธลีหิง” กรุงเทพฯ
(2456).²¹

- Reprint of Wachirayān Library 1913 Tamnān Phra Sing.

Wachirayān Library 1920 Cāmadevīvaṃsa
หอพระสมุดวชิรญาณฯ “จามเทวีวงศ์ พงศาวดารเมืองหริภุญไชย” กรุงเทพฯ
2463.

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(วัดเชียงใหม่) “ตำนานพระศิลา” เชียงใหม่ 2499 (24 pp.).

Wichianprīchā 1869 Phongsāwadān Nūa
Phra Wichianprīchā (Nōi): Phra Rācha Phongsāwadān Nūa lā Tamnān
Phra Kāo Mōrakot Luang Phra Bāng. Bangkok 1869.²²
• Contains as an appendix: KM-LP.

Wichianprīchā 1894 Phongsāwadān Nūa
(พระวิเชียรปรีชา [น้อย]) “ตำนานพระราชพงษาวดารเหนือ และตำนานพระ
แก้วมรกตเมืองหลวงพระบาง” กรุงเทพฯ ร.ศ.113.
• Reprint of the 1869 edition incl. KM-LP.

Wichianprīchā 1914 Phongsāwadān Nūa
(พระวิเชียรปรีชา [น้อย]) “พระราชพงษาวดารเหนือ” ประชุมพงษาวดาร, 1,
2457, 1-78.
• Appendix p.79-112: ตำนานพระแก้วมรกต (= KM-LP'1914).

²⁰ Hypothetical reconstruction of author, title, place and year. See above: SIN/PA.

²¹ Same as footnote 16 above.

²² Hypothetical reconstruction on the basis of what is known of the 1894 edition.

Wichianprīchā 1963 Phongsāwadān Nūa
(พระวิเชียรปรีชา [น้อย]) “พระราชพงษาวดารเหนือ” ประชุมพงษาวดาร ฉบับ
หอสมุดแห่งชาติ, 1, 2457, 1-78.

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- Reprint of the 1914 edition by Kāo Nā Publishers สำนัก
พิมพ์ก้าวหน้า, เล่ม ๑.

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